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ABSTRACT

The relationship of minority groups' social class membership, their development of mobility goals, and the role of school tracking was examined through a survey of 350 Black and Hispanic high school students. A model was posited embodying the hypothesis that, among minorities, successful cognitive experiences in school contribute to the variations in the level of occupational and educational goals held. It was argued that the meritocratic ideology on which the educational system rests, and its internalization, lead individuals to equate certain levels of cognitive success with the ability to do well in society. It was also suggested that "others" (parents, peers, and teachers) partake of this ideology and consequently develop expectations for the individual based on his cognitive success. The more experiential outcomes of schooling, such as the adolescent's evaluation of opportunities, would be determined by cognitive performance and, in turn, would determine the range of mobility goals held. These theoretical speculations were substantiated by the data, but discernible differences were found to exist between Blacks and Hispanics. The model destination in terms of post-secondary education and occupational goals was significantly lower for Hispanics than Blacks, although there were no differences in cognitive achievement between the groups. It is recommended that caution be used by educators in labeling students negatively and tracking them into low appreciation situations since such stereotyping can permanently undermine their ability to achieve. (KH)

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The Impact of Schooling on Minority Adolescents' Mobility Aspirations

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The Impact of Schooling on Minority Adolescents' Educational and Occupational Aspirations

Mobility goals as articulated in terms of educational and occupational aspirations have been found to be crucial antecedents of the individual's early status attainment (Haller, Woelfel, and Fink, 1969; Sewell, 1957). Explanations of how these goals are formed have centered on the interplay of social background factors, educational attainment, and interpersonal influences. While, however, such explanations have proved adequate for the dominant groups, they have been less than fruitful in explaining the mobility goals and process of status attainment among minorities, since inhering in minority group status are a complexity of factors which serve to severely constrain the range in which mobility goals are set.

One may define a minority group as any group of persons with certain biological or social traits who are an object of prejudice or discrimination (Popenoe, 1980). Such a definition is based on political rather than numerical consideration, carries with it social opprobrium, and results in the minority group occupying inferior statuses in the economic, social, and political hierarchies. Consequently, the integration of the minority group into the dominant culture remains at a minimum.

The label of minority group status is applied contemporaneously to blacks and Hispanics, who have historically occupied a position in the stratification hierarchy determined partly by ascribed (as is the case of blacks), as well as achieved statuses. Recent attempts in the past three decades to effect a greater degree of structural assimilation for these groups have focused on raising the level of their educational attainment.

This is predicated on the dual considerations of 1): the educational-occupational nexuses have provided white incumbents with the necessary skills to function effectively in the society and hence enjoy secure moves of mobility; 2): structural and ideological forces have in the past denied to blacks and Hispanics quality access to the economic, political, and educational institutions - such access as is germane to bringing about improved socio-economic positions in the society.

These structural obstacles are at variance with the ideology of meritocracy on which mobility within the society is presumed to be based. Indeed, many models of the status attainment process assume that social mobility occurs in an open contest situation, in which positions of prestige are acquired on the basis of merit, measured as years of schooling and technical competence (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Haller and Portes, 1973). Inspite of the various efforts at model refinement, and given the obvious inability of many of these revised models to accurately predict the mobility outcomes for minorities (Curry, Picou et al., 1976; Porter, 1974), scant attention has been paid to identifying those factors likely to impinge on the social shifts of the minority population. Perhaps because of ideological reasons, the influence of structurally imposed limitations on minority status attainment, and in particular those minorities from the working and underclass, is left relatively unanalyzed.

Recent attempts at understanding the status attainment process among minorities have pointed to the complexity of the interaction of social class and race (Wilson, 1978). The forwarded arguments suggest that social class is assuming a central role in determining the life chances and subsequent status attainment among the black population. These arguments are in juxtaposition to the findings noted by Blau and Duncan (1967), which underscored the primacy of race as a factor determining the stratification of blacks.

The apparent shift from a race based stratification pattern to economic differentiation, is seen to brought about by the improved levels in educational attainment among the black population, and its impact on their distribution in the occupational structure. This linkage between education and occupation has been well discussed in the sociology of education literature (Parelius, Parelius 1978). The argument may be simply stated. Given the occupational structure and the underlying economic substructure, desirable occupations in terms of income and prestige are coterminous with given levels of educational attainment. As a consequence, schooling and its cognitive and experiential outcomes assume an important role in determining the life chances and status position of the individual.

The emerging shifts in the differentiation of individuals within the minority population on the basis of economic factors, suggest a need to elucidate those factors that are likely to intervene between the individual's social background and his status attainment. Since mobility goals have been identified as being crucial to this process, this paper limits its focus to understanding the formation of mobility aspirations among minority youths. This is accomplished by integrating into previous models a variable termed "the perception of the opportunity structure." From such a systematization, a more inclusive theory of the role of academic experiences as a mediating influence between social background and mobility goals is advanced and empirically tested on a sample of 277 black and Hispanic high school seniors.

It should be stated parenthetically, that any form of social behavior is factorially complex. The proposed model tested in this paper does not, therefore, attempt to exhaust all possible ways in which ascribed and achieved statuses are linked in the minority community. It seeks only to clarify some of the possible linkages that may exist via schooling.

Theoretical Formulation

The crystallization of statuses within the United States, as in most capitalist societies, has taken place around three major dimensions: wealth, power, and prestige (Haller, 1970; Runciman, 1968). This implies that individuals and groups are ranked on the basis of their relative positions along these dimensions and seek to maintain, consolidate, and advance their positions vis-a-vis other groups.

In the contest of acquiring these statuses, the occupational structure emerges as a pivotal arena. In fact, based on the results from a long series of studies pointing to the stability both spatially, and temporally of the prestige ordering of occupations, it has been suggested that the class structure is founded on a system of occupational differentiation (Parkin, 1971; Blau and Duncan, 1967). Based on the perceived significance of the occupational order to the stratification hierarchy, goals established in relation to the occupational structure are viewed as signifying mobility plans. These goals are thought to be central to the acquisition of status since they form the impetus for subsequent behavior (Woelfel and Haller, 1971).

The explanatory schema developed by this paper and depicted in Figure 1, posits that within the minority population an understanding of the development of mobility goals must start with an acknowledgement of the individual's social class position. This premise is founded on the results of various studies which indicate the existence of social class differences in the rates of mobility experienced by blacks from varying socioeconomic groupings (Freeman, 1973, Wolfle, 1985). In fact in the latter study by Wolfle, the process of postsecondary educational attainment was found to operate similary for blacks and whites. Children of higher status parents, regardless of race achieved a higher level of education after high school than children of low status parents. It should be noted that the issue of class differentials as a

potent force influencing the acquisition of status among minorities has produced vitriolic responses (see Marrett, 1980; Wilson, 1978).

INSERT FIGURE 1

Explanations for the primacy of class as a factor in the mobility process among minorities pivot around changes in the economic and productive forces accompanied by more open social policies, such as the Affirmative Action Program. However, the existence of certain types of subsocieties gives credence to the belief that racial factors are still prepotent to explaining the patterns of stratification and mobility in the society as it affects minorities.

First, there is the phenomenon of the underclass, vast groups of people who are so marginalized from the dominant society, that their structural integration is minimal and their social destiny is almost to remain in poverty. A significant percentage of those constituting this class are of minority status. Second, there is the phenomenon of ethclass. Gordon (1966) spoke of an ethclass as representing a subsociety created by the interaction of ethnicity and class. This concept is useful because it helps to clarify the psychological and social effects of a stratification system with multiple axis.

An ethclass as a functioning subsociety has an integrated impact on the participating individual. Therefore, while minorities of the same social class as the majority group feel a sense of sharing behavioral similarities with whites, they do not feel a sense of peoplehood. With fellow minorities of a different social class, there is the feeling of peoplehood, but no sense of behavioral similarities. The only subgroup which feels both a sense of behavioral similarities as well as peoplehood, are individuals of the same ethnic group as well as social class.

Third, there are differences that exist between the mobility patterns and rates for blacks and Hispanics and the dominant groups, as well as other groups, e.g., Asians, which cannot be reconciled without reference to either the persistence of, or the residual effects of institutionalized racism. This helps us to explain why inspite of the occupational gains made by blacks and Hispanics, the median income for white males with only a high school education is higher ($12,715) than those of black males with four years of college education ($12,081); and why the incidence of overeducation continues to be higher for blacks and Hispanics than for whites (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1982).

Notwithstanding these qualifications, the correlations found between the individual's social class background and status acquisition suggests that the life chances confronting the individual of minority status differs qualitatively according to his initial class position in the stratification heirarchy. One of the ways through which such initial starting position influences the individual's social mobility is through its association with educational experiences.

The role of education in bringing about changes in the social status of various groupings in the society has been well documented, though less adequately explained. The model depicted in Figure 1 embodies the following assumptions. First, the theses is forwarded that some moderate association exists between social class and the degree of cognitive success experienced in school (see path from social background to academic performance in Figure 1). This relationship has received substantial validation in the literature (see Lavin, 1965). While many theorists seek to explain this association in terms of the common relationship of both variables to mental ability (Lipset and Bendix, 1969, Antanasi, 1958), a more cogent explanation, given the phenomenon of neighborhood schools, may be the differences in educational structures

based on the inequalities in the tax base and economic resources in schools attended by the poor versus the nonpoor; and the attendant problems, e.g., parental responsiveness to education, teacher competence etc. - created by this.

Second, it is hypothesized that the instrumental outcome of schooling as measured by academic performance influences mobility goals in three ways. One, successful academic experiences directly impact on the mobility goals which the individual establishes (see arrow in Figure 1 from academic performance to the level of educational and occupational expectations). Two, schooling influences the expectations which significant others hold for the individual, such expectations when communicated to the individual influences his mobility plans. Finally, experiences in school affect the individual's global perceptions about opportunities within the society, which subsequently impact on the range of mobility goals set.

Two contrasting approaches may be used to explain the direct impact of cognitive success on adolescent's mobility plans. The first, derived from the Median strand of the symbolic interaction perspective, views the individual's confrontation with his academic success or nonsuccess as a form of self-reflexive activity. Through self-reflexivity the individual forms some judgement or inference about himself. Therefore, as Woelfel and Haller (1971) note, in formulating his educational and occupational plans the individual is likely to be influenced by his demonstrated cognitive abilities.

This process of self-reflexivity may underscore, however, the degree to which schools have brought about a "socialization of consciousness in individuals" (Bowels and Gintis, 1976). The occupational educational nexuses and the meritocratic ideology which premeates the educational institution, suggest that cognitive success is associated with the ability to do well in the wider society, and with the acquisition of rewards. Internalization of this belief

system results in individuals, on the basis of their academic performance, syphoning off themselves into either low paying or more lucrative occupations. The problem with this socialization process is that it may lead to the development of a "false consciousness." In other words, economic success does not depend exclusively on the possession of technical and cognitive skills. For example, Persell (1977) marshalled a substantive body of literature which demonstrated that the cognitive results of education were at times, unrelated to various aspects of the job market. Super and Crites (1962) a reported study, found that the economic return to vocational schooling was quite low. Similarly, Jencks et al. (1972) and Bowles and Gintis (1976) noted the insignificance of cognitive achievement for income. Only at the highest level of the occupational structure and among the most intellectually demanding and technologically changing occupations, were technical job requirements connected with schooling and work (Dreeben, 1971 - cited in Persell 1977:159).

It is among minority populations that the lack of fit between cognitive skills and income return is sharply accentuated. The Civil Rights Commission (1982), in a study of unemployment and underemployment among blacks, Hispanics and women, noted that for the period between 1971 and 1980, the rates of overeducation were higher for blacks and Hispanic males. (Overeducation is a form of underemployment in which the individual's formal education and skills are not adequately used.) In more concrete terms, blacks and Hispanics with a college degree were more likely than whites to be in occupations typically not requiring a college degree.

The discussion has so far sought to explain the direct impact of schooling on adolescents' educational and occupational aspirations. There are however, other explicit relationships in the model whose theoretical rationale have to be justified. Examination of the paths from academic performance to significant other influence, and from this latter variable to both the

level of educational and occupational expectations suggest an indirect route through which schooling may impact on mobility goals.

First however, what sense can be made of the implied relationship between academic performance and significant other influence? The symbolic interaction approach advocates that one's own action is determined in part by the reactions and expectations of others who are significant to us. The concept of significant other as used in this context refers to those categories of individuals who exercise major influences over the attitudes of individuals (Woelfel and Haller, 1971:75). To a certain degree, there is apparent congruity between the concept and the concept of "reference groups," the latter encompassing those groups and individuals who are used by ego as subjective frame of references in assessing his locations on different status dimensions.

A student's academic performance as an object holds certain meanings for these significant others. These meanings for the most part are derived from the underlying ideologies on which the educational system rests. On the basis of the meanings imputed to academic performances, significant others develop and communicate various expectations, to the individuals. For example, the more successful students are cognitively, the higher the expectations which significant others tend to have for them. This proposition has received substantial verification in the literature (Bordua, 1960; Haller and Butterworth, 1960; Herriot, 1963; Alexander and Campbell, 1964, Sewell and Shah, 1968).

It may be noted, by referring back to the model, that social background is also posited as having a direct impact on significant other influence. This relationship is suggestive of the tendency for "others" behavior to be influenced by the meanings attached to our social attributes. Various studies have shown for one, that teachers tend to respond differently to students on

the basis of race, class, and gender factors. (Rosenthal, 1968; Good, Sikes, Brophy, 1973; Eaves, 1975; Feldman, Donohoe, 1978; Haller, 1985). Finally, in respect to the status of the significant other variable in the model, the thesis is advanced, that since the individual's action is likely to be determined by the reactions of others, this variable is likely to have a direct impact on the level of educational and occupational expectations held.

The realities of the American society indicate quite sharply that individuals from various social class backgrounds tend to confront an opportunity structure which is qualitatively different (Myrdal, 1969). While the opening up of the educational structure to minorities has created more facilitative opportunities for some, there is a substratum of individuals of minority status to whom opportunities are even more closed. In fact, several analyses of the Affirmative Action Program indicate that its greatest positive impact has been on the black middle class.

The opportunity structure and the perception of it is therefore crucial to the establishment of mobility goals. Obviously, individuals who are quite negative in their evaluations of the opportunity structure may set lower or alternative goals for themselves (Sang Han, 1968; Curry and Picou, 1971; Cosby, 1974). An interesting question is whether or not one may perceive of a link between schooling and the individual's evaluation of this structure.

The posture adopted in this paper and expressed in the model with the path from academic performance to perception of the opportunity structure, suggests that schooling may contribute towards shaping the adolescents' perception of wider social forces. This position is founded on the dichotomy between the experiential versus cognitive outcomes of schooling (Persell, 1977; Bowels and Gintis, 1976; Bloom, 1972). Such experiential outcomes refer primarily to the emergence of a self-identity, frame of references attitudes and values as well as beliefs about the openness of society. They are

directly influenced by various aspects of the educational system.

Given the socialization functions of schooling and the interrelationship between cognitive and experiential outcomes, the proposition is advanced that students who are more successful academically are more likely to be positive in their evaluation of the opportunity structure. Conversely, the poor student is likely to be less positive in his or her evaluation, and is more likely than his/her academically successful peer to set lower educational and occupational goals.

The preceeding discussion has raised several arguments on the various ways in which schooling may impact on adolescents' mobility goals. Since the model is dealing with individual choice levels, more structural type factors are left explicitly out, though where relevant they will be discussed in the conclusions.

Methodology

Sampling. A multi-stage sampling design involving two sampling stages was used. First, four high schools were selected as the primary sampling units. In order to reduce sampling errors, the ten high schools were grouped into two relatively homogeneous strata on the basis of a socioeconomic classification. Simple random sampling was used to select two schools from within each stratum.

The second stage of sampling involved the selection of 350 students, through systematic random sampling. Built into this sample size was an allowance for a nonresponse rate of 33 percent. The final usable number of questionnaires was therefore 277. Only students from the 12th grade were interviewed. The rationale underlying this decision is based on Super's argument (1953) that these students are best able to distinguish between reality and fantasy, since the maturation or developmental phase in terms of goal setting is most likely to ber completed at this age.

Instruments

Social background was measured by an index derived from Hollingshead's two factor index of social position. This index is composed of a weighted occupational scale (weight of 7) and educational scale (weight of 3). Various combinations of the scale score for occupation and education are reproducible in the Guttman sense. Hollingshead and and Redlich report a correlation between judged class with education and occupation of .906 (as reported by Miller, 1977). In this paper, only the composite scale scores for the parent with the highest level of educational and occupational attainment was used.

Academic performance is most frequently operationalized by calculating directly from grade transcripts of students, grades obtained in the major content areas with the exclusion of physical education and shop courses (Lavin, 1965). Given the tendency, however, for each teacher to use his or her own standard of grading, comparison of grade averages across teachers and schools may be problematic.

In order to circumvent any measurement inconsistencies that may develop from this, academic performance was measured by students' test scores on a standardized test instrument. Total battery scores expressed as normal curve equivalent scores on the Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills were used as a summary measure of students' academic performance. The Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills is reported to have reliability coefficients based on test-retest, split half and alternate form reliability measures all greater than .90 (CSE Secondary School Test Evaluation: Center for the Study of Evaluation, UCLA 1974).

Significant Other Influence. Two approaches towards measuring the influence of significant others have evolved. The perceived significant other measure taps the influence of significant others through respondents' responses to items measuring perceived parental encouragement to attend college, perceived teacher encouragement for college, and friends' college plans (Haller, 1957; Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970; Porter, 1976; Curry, Picou et al. 1976).

The objective significant other measure taps the influence of significant others by directly eliciting from respondents the individuals who have been most influential in shaping their educational and occupational plans. Once these individuals have been identified, they are administered an instrument which solicits from them their educational expectations for the individual. In this study, the perceived measure was used, with a mean score computed.

Perception of the Opportunity Structure was measured by a Likert type scale consisting of 13 items. The items were so scaled that individuals who were negative in their perceptions of the opportunity structure received a higher score and conversely. A reliability analysis yielded an alpha of .69, while the result of an equimax rotated factor solution yielded three distinct factors. The first factor which accounted for 65 percent of the variance in the items pertained to blocked economic resources.

Level of Educational and Occupational Aspirations can be viewed in two lights: 1) idealistic and 2) realistic. Results from various discussions and empirical investigations reveal that it is the realistic component which is most likely to be associated with early attainment (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969; Strichfield and Picou, 1982). In this study, therefore, the realistic component of students' mobility goal was used. The Duncan socioeconomic score was assigned to the stated occupation, while an ordinal ranking was applied to the level of educational expectations.

Data Analysis. The path analytic technique was the primary statistical tool used. The model was therefore examined through the use of various standardized regression equations. All path coefficients were tested for statistical significance at the .05 rejection level. Finally, for each determined variable in the model, the effects of the latent or unmeasured variables were calculated.

Results

Zero order correlations, means, and standard deviations of the six variables for blacks and Hispanics, males and females, and the total sample are presented in Table 1. Note that the negative signs involving all the zero order correlations between social background and perception of the opportunity structure, and the other variables are due to the scaling of both variables. Attention should be drawn to the fluctuations in the size of the zero order correlations between the level of educational expectations and the level of occupational expectations among the various subpopulations.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Among blacks a very strong relationship is evident between both variables, r=.70, compared to a correlation of r=.59 among Hispanics. For females a correlation of r=.66 was obtained, while for males this was r=.69. With the exception of Hispanics, the zero order correlations for the other subgroups compared favorably to the correlation for the total sample r=.67.

The path analytic technique enables one to determine the extent to which hypothesized statements of causal effects are empirically verified. A test of significance of the standardized path coefficients allows us to identify those paths which are significantly meaningful. In Table 2 and Figures 2 and 3, the standardized path coefficients and coefficient of determination are presented for each dependent variable.

INSERT TABLE 2 AND FIGURES 2 and 3 ABOUT HERE

Among black adolescents, all hypothesized paths of direct effects to the level of occupational expectations were statistically significant, with the exception of the path from social background. Academic performance had a direct impact of .36; significant other influence .35; and perception of the opportunity structure .20. The size of the path coefficient from social background to the level of occupational expectation was only .06. The coefficient of determination reported in Table 2 indicates that the model accounted for 48 percent of the variance in the level of occupational expectations held by black adolescents.

Comparisons of the total effects of the four independent variables indicate that academic performance made the greatest contribution towards explaining the differences in black adolescents' level of occupational expectation. This variable had a total effect of .575, compared to .525 for significant other influence, .20 for perception of the opportunity structure, and .173 for social background.

The indirect causal paths via significant other influence was responsible for 32 percent of academic performance's total impact on the level of occupational expectations, while the indirect path through perception of the opportunity structure was responsible for 5 percent.

All paths of direct effects to the level of educational expectations were statistically significant. The ordering of the magnitude of the size of the direct effects paralleled those observed for occupational expectations. Academic performance had the strongest impact .33, followed by significant other influence .31, perception of the opportunity structure .19, and social background, .15. Approximately 45 percent of the variance in the level of educational expectations was accounted for by the model. With respect to their total effects, the total impact of academic performance on the level of educational expectations was .525. Significant other influence had a total effect of .319, social background. 278, and perception of the opportunity structure .19. Significant other influence contributed 36 percent towards academic performance's total impact on black adolescents' level of educational expectations.

Of the two possible routes through which social class differences were related to variations in mobility goals, the route via schooling was by far the most important. Thus, in respect to black adolescents' occupational expectations, 59 percent of the effects of social background was accounted for by the various indirect paths through academic performance. The indirect routes through significant other influence accounted for only 23 percent. While social background made a substantially greater impact directly on the level of educational expectations, a third of this exogenous variable's total impact was also attributed to the contributions made my schooling.

Among the Hispanic subpopulations, only the direct paths from academic performance and significant other influence to the level of occupational expectations were statistically significant. The path coefficient for significant other influence was .25, and academic performance .22. The path coefficients for both perception of the opportunity structure and social background

were .09. The model successfully accounted for only 22 percent of the variation in the level of occupational expectations for Hispanics.

The same pattern of results held for the level of educational expectations. Significant other influence had a direct path of .37, while the path coefficient for academic performance was .28. The direct impact of both social background and perception of the opportunity structure were also negligible. In all, approximately 30 percent of the variance in educational expectations was explained by the determinants in the model.

In looking at the level of occupational expectation, one sees that academic performance made the greatest contribution .348, followed by significant other influence .256, social background .185, and perception of the opportunity structure .09. The trend is the same for the level of educational expectations. Academic performance's total impact is .448, significant other influence's .376, social background's .14, and perception of the opportunity structure .04.

Significant other influence made a substantial contribution towards explaining the total impact of academic performance on both endogenous variables. Approximately 33 percent of academic performance's total impact on occupational expectations was via significant other influence, while for educational expectation the comparable figure is 36 percent.

What was the relative importance of schooling and significant other influence in explaining the relationship between Hispanic adolescents' social background and their mobility goals? The data indicates that significant other influence was responsible for 29 percent of social background's total impact on occupational expectations, while academic performance was responsible for 23 percent. Significant other influence contributed even greater to the impact of social background on the level of educational expectations,

accounting for 54 percent of its total impact. Schooling on the other hand, contributed 39 percent.

Comparison of Unstandardized Regression Coefficients

The standardized regression coefficients do not allow us to make any meaningful comparisons directly between the groups. However, the unstandardized raw regression coefficients allow us to do this since the unit of measurement for a given variable is the same for both groups.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

If we examine the coefficients reported in Table 3, it is clear that the three independent variables: perception of the opportunity structure, significant other influence, and academic performance play a much more decisive role in influencing the level of occupational expectations among black adolescents than among Hispanics. For the level of educational expectations the pattern is the same for all the variables with the exception of perception of the opportunity structure, which appears to be slightly more important for Hispanics.

INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

The unstandardized regression coefficients for females and males are presented in Table 5. These coefficients suggest that social background plays a much more important role in determining the occupational and educational goals of females in contrast to males. On the other hand, both perception of the opportunity structure and significant other influence are more salient to males occupational goals than they are to females. A similar conclusion holds for academic performance and educational expectations. However, both significant other influence and perception of the opportunity structure appears to be more crucial to the establishment of educational goals among females than they are to males.

Disaggregated Significant Other Model

INSERT FIGURES 4 and 5 ABOUT HERE

Significant other influence emerged as an important determinant of adolescents' mobility goals for all the groups in this study. Because this variable was composed of various sources of possible influences, there was an interest in identifying the relative contribution made by each to both the level of educational and occupational expectations. Since it would be cumbersome to do this for each subgroup, the analysis is initiated for the total sample.

The coefficients reported in Figure 4 indicate that the influence of peers is paramount to the development of educational plans among minority youths as compared to the influence from the other significant referents. With respect to the occupational goals (see Figure 5) parental influence had a marginally stronger effect, followed by peer influence and then teacher influence.

Influence emanating from relatives seemed to operate in a direction opposite to the other sources. On close scruitiny of the zero order correlations of this variable with parental expectation as well as the two dependent variables, and the fluctuations in the direction of its relationship with occupational and educational expectations, the conclusion was reached that this source of influence acted as a suppressor variable for parental expectations.

Discussion

This paper was stimulated by a need to understand more clearly, for the minority populations the relationship between social class membership and the development of mobility goals, and the role of schooling in this process. The interest was spawned primarily by the saliency which has been placed on the

rates of mobility and the destination of the minority population in the stratification hierarchy since the Civil Rights Movement and the implementation of various social policies seeking to make the society more "opened" to them.

The burgeoning middle class now apparent seems to indicate for one, that some of these efforts have paid off for some members of the minority population. However, while these individuals have enjoyed some form of social mobility, the nature of unemployment in this country, being structural in character has created large pockets of individuals, who lacking the skill and training, are locked into a permanent state of poverty.

Undoubtably, the vertical shifts in mobility evident among some members of the minority population have been brought about through their educational attainment. If, therefore, it is conceded that education is resulting in the same patterns of social differentiation within the minority population as was found to be the case among whites by Duncan and Blau in the 60's, then it is imperative for one to understand the modes through which educational differences are responsible for the social class differences in status attainment evident among the poor and nonpoor of minority status.

The point cannot be underscored more strongly, however, that one must approach the issue of a class structure among the minority population with some caution. Certainly, in terms of the minority populations negotiation with the dominant structures of power and authority, a strict economic determinism does not accurately reflect reality. Weber's (1966) multi-dimensional approach to stratification stress the role of status factor - operating independently of class in sometimes determining prestige, and diluting the social effects of class. Given the legacy of racism in this country, one may reinterpret Weber's argument by noting that racial factors can, at times,

dilute the social effects of class membership in according prestige to members of the minority population.

With this caveat stated one may now address the findings which have surfaced in this study. First, a restatement of the theoretical arguments informing the model may be useful. Blau and Duncan (1967) state that the major factor linking ascribed and achieved statuses within the American society is educational attainment. Education, as many have pointed out, is integral to the functioning of society, not only in promoting social stability and consensus, but also in bringing about social change and in providing an ostensible objective standard by which technical and cognitive competence can be measured. It is obvious based on the vast body of literature that schooling, plays a significant role in our social definitions of ourselves and our perceptions about the roles which we can play in the larger social structure.

The model explored in this study posited that among minorities, successful cognitive experiences in school contributed directly and indirectly to the variations in the level of occupational and educational goals held. Two major lines of theoretical reasonings drawn from the symbolic interaction paradigm, and Bowles and Gintis proposition on the role of education in bringing about certain levels and forms of consciousness were used to justify this proposition.

It was argued that the meritocratic ideology on which the educational system rests, and its internalization, led individuals to equate certain levels of cognitive success with the ability to do well in society. It was also suggested that "others" such as parents, peers, and teachers partook of this ideology and consequently developed expectations for the individual based on his cognitive success. Finally, the thesis was advanced that the more

experiential outcomes of schooling, such as the adolescent's evaluation of opportunities, would be determined by cognitive performance, and in turn, determine the range of mobility goals held.

These theoretical speculations were substantiated for the most part by the data, although discernible differences existed between blacks and Hispanics. If the percentage of variance can be used as a standard to evaluate the efficacy of the model, it is clear that the model approximated fairly well the processes informing the development of mobility goals among black adolescents. As noted in our presentation of the results, 48 percent and 45 percent of the variance in black adolescents' level of occupational and educational expectations were accounted for by the independent variables.

The data indicated that social class net of the indirect effects, made no independent contributions to the level of occupational expections, yet it did make a modest, but significant impact on the level of educational expectations. This finding raises a number of interesting questions. First of all, it raises the question as to whether or not college has a greater endorsement among blacks from the more affluent strata, than those in the lower classes as a status right and gateway to prestige. Second, it suggests the possibility that since the black lower classes are more structurally distant from these various success goals, the number of lower class students expecting to go to college tends to be minimal. Hence, one finds that the highest proportion of young black adults in college come from families with income of $15,000 or more (U. S. Bureau of the Census, "The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1984"). Third, since the black middle class derives its position from occupational prestige in contrast to wealth, a college education may become a major source for this class consolidating its position in terms of its offspring also acquiring status.

Interestingly, social class was not significantly related to neither educational or occupational expectations among Hispanics. Infact, both the levels of educational and occupational expectations were found to be lower among Hispanics than blacks. In addition to which, the correlations between social background and both dependent variables were also lower. These findings imply that the modal destination in terms of mobility goals, regardless of social position tends to be lower for Hispanics than for blacks.

The structural integration of Hispanics in this society has been fraught with difficulties. National data on college enrollment and the dropout rates for black and Hispanics indicate a slight disadvantegous position among the latter group. For example, in 1982 the overall national dropout rate for Hispanics was 18.7 percent, compared to 17.1 percent for blacks, and 12.5 percent for whites (Hispanics Policy Development Project: 1984). Carter and Segura (1979) study of the pattern of minority enrollment in selected colleges also indicated that slightly more blacks were enrolled in colleges than Mexican Americans.

Analyses of the position of Hispanics in the stratification hierarchy point to the role which the value system of the Hispanic culture plays in retarding their progress. The basic argument forwarded is that the Hispanic value system is at variance with the norms and values of achievement of the Anglo value system (Clark, 1959; Heller, 1966; Madsen, 1964). The former system is viewed as being organized around a folk orientation which has a dysfunctional effect in terms of achieving the integration of this group, a tendency which is further compounded by the problem of language. Unravelling the factors contributing to the position of Hispanics in this society while complicated, certainly points to the need for taking into consideration not only the existence of conflicting value systems, but also

the range of societal responses made by the host society to Hispanics.

If one may take as an index of the level to which groups buy into the dominant value system, the types and ranges of mobility goals held, then it is clear on the basis of this study that blacks are more integrated into the dominant value system than are Hispanics. This point is brought into sharper relief when we compare the results of the relative saliency of schooling to mobility goals. Among blacks, 59 percent of the effects of social background's impact on occupational expectation was attributed to the impact of schooling; for Hispanics this was 23 percent. In respect to educational expectations, 54 percent of social background's impact on Hispanic adolescents' educational plans was due to the intervening influences of significant other influence, whereas for blacks the greatest contribution came from academic performance - 32 percent.

Obviously, two separate forces are at work in determining these groups' mobility goals. The ideology of meritocracy and cognitive competence seems to be a central factor influencing the establishment of mobility goals among blacks. On the other hand, the interpersonal dimension appears to be salient to that process for Hispanics.

Mobility is oftentimes viewed as being influenced by both subjective as well as objective factors. The objective or structural factors concern the rise and fall of certain positions, as well as their expansion and shrinkage. They also include the degree to which barriers and blocked opportunities are so institutionalized as to retard the progress of individuals. These barriers when subjectively experienced as such, provide a potent psychological force to the process of mobility, sharply restricting the range of mobility goals set.

Confirmative evidence provided by this study substantiates the above. Among black adolescents, their perceptions about the opportunity structure significantly influenced their educational and occupational plans. Scaling down of mobility goals occurred among those who perceived blocked opportunities. Of noteworthy interest is the finding that social background was not related to these evaluations. This may indicate some uniformity in black adolescents' perceptions about opportunities in the society. Schooling however, did play a role in shaping these perceptions. Students who did well academically were likely to be more favorable in their evaluation of opportunities in the society than those who did poorly.

This underscores the necessity of paying attention to not only the cognitive, but the experiential consequences of schooling among the minority population. These outcomes, as we have seen, play a significant role in influencing not only the individuals' perceptions about the society, but his own sense of his destination in the social hierarchy. As Ashton (1973, as cited by Persell 1977) so aptly notes, "In this way, by acquiring an image of themselves, the pupils learn to see those occupations that require some form of educational qualification for entry as beyond their reach." "They can decide on lower-paying, lower-opportunity occupations without feeling that the system is totally unjust" (Persell, 1977:156).

These experiential consequences are also reflected in the opinions and perceptions about the individual that are formed by others. For both black and Hispanic adolescents, students' cognitive successes had a sizeable impact on the expectations held by significant others. These expectations in both cases, influenced the level of mobility goals set. Disaggregation of the significant other influence variable, while pointing to parental support in determining occupational goals, also revealed the primacy of peer influence in

affecting the level of educational expectations.

Much of the homiphly evident in this relationship between peer influence and educational expectations reflect the value climate effects of the school setting. Both Campbell and Alexander (1965), as well as McDill and Rigsby, (1973) interpret the relationship between the larger social collectivity (the school) and the educational orientation of the individual student, as being mediated by the influence of the students' immediate peer group. If one may accede to the theses that the immediate social and value melieu of the school setting provide the context from which certain values in respect to mobility plans are derived, then the issue of neighborhood schools creates a certain amount of disquietude.

In very large urban centers like social types are sifted into specific areas. Thus, there are distinct communities based in most cases on income. Given the homogenization of the school population in these neighborhood schools, and the educational problems associated with schools in poor neighborhoods, it is not moot to ask whether schools may have a value climate supportive of the students' position in the social system. The question is not without some relevancy, as we have seen, that oftentimes the differentiation of education and its cognitive outcomes is predicated on the assumption that students from varying economic positions have different educational needs.

Our final area for discussion relates to the significance of the paths in the model when comparisons are based on gender. The analysis of the relative significance of the causal paths for males and females revealed that for females, stronger causal effects were obtained for the impact of social background on significant other influence, the impact of significant other influence on educational expectations, and the impact of social background on

both the level of educational and occupational expectations.

These results are suggestive of the differential role expectations for females and males. The stronger impact of significant other influence on the educational expectations of females than those of males, may be reflective of the tendency for education to be considered as more desirable and increasingly necessary for fulfilling male occupational roles, but less so for females (Sewell and Shah, 1968:565). It is also possible that among the minority population, economic considerations complicate the role expectations and goals for females. Hence, one finds that social class membership exerts a stronger influence on the expectations which significant others hold for females, than it does for males. Not surprisingly, however, given the greater discrimination faced by minority males in the job market, perception of the opportunity structure was found to be more strongly related to male occupational expectations than they were to females.

Conclusions

This paper has sought to provide insight into the possible ways in which schooling may impact on minority adolescents' mobility goals. It by no means exhaust all the possible means through which educational structures and their attendant ideologies may bring about, or retard the upward movement of the minority population. We now know, for example, that the educational advancement made by blacks may be less real that was thought to be (Hess, Markson and Stein, 1985). Thus, although college enrollment in 1982 had almost doubled since 1965 (10-19 percent), most blacks were at two-year colleges and trade schools, compared to most whites who were enrolled at four-year colleges and universities (Reid, 1982). In addition, as Hogan and Pazul (1981) have pointed out, blacks who are highly educated tend to enter occupations with moderate prestige, but lower-pay, such as education and social service.

Even with the educational and occupational gains that have been made, the position of minorities in the social structure remains marginalized as compared to whites. Hence, in respect to the status dimension of power, the number of blacks holding high positions in Federal or State government is considerably less than the 12 percent of their distribution in the population. Most are to be found in middle management jobs in the public sectors; the types of jobs that are likely to be cut back in times of fiscal problems (Oliver and Glick, 1982).

These hard data suggest that the role of education cannot be separated from the effects of the other major social institutions. One cannot, as a consequence, understand the mobility of minorities without referring back to the political economy of the society. As such, one has the apparent inconsistency that although the educational system is supposed to reflect a norm of contest (see Turner, 1967), mobility for minorities still approximate, to a certain extent, sponsorship. In this type of mobility situation, status is not determined solely by the aspirants' efforts, but also by the dominant elite heirarchy.

If there are any concrete recommendations that may be derived from this study, it is the urgency to make schools more responsive to the needs of its student population. If we take the problem of the Hispanic student, there seems to be every need for a special system of counselling which will help these students in their career goals. As we saw, the modal destination in terms of post-secondary education and occupational goals was significantly lower for Hispanics than blacks, although there were no differences in cognitive achievement between the groups. In fact, the whole system of traditional guidance counselling as it relates to minorities needs to be reassessed.

This study found that parents and peers were more important in influencing students' mobility goals than were teachers (including guidance counsellors). Perhaps, these sources of influence need to be brought into the traditional system of guidance.

Although it may be difficult to escape the labeling and negative self-concepts which evolve from unsuccessful academic performance, their importance to the behavior of the youth cannot be eschewed. The incidence of teenage pregnancy and socially disorganized behavior tend to be prevalent among poor youths. An educational profile of these students invariably point to their poor academic track record. While certainly factors of economics and family relationships may be correlated with these behaviors, educators must ask whether or not among the teenage culture, parenting is not used as a means of bolstering poor "self-images" battered by years of negative stereotyping and labeling. If such is the case, the process of labeling individuals as slow learners, remedial students, educable mentally retarded, etc. should not be taken lightly.

Finally, the point needs to be made that the effects of schooling on minorities movement up in the social system will be stymied, if opportunities are not facilitative in the wider society. If adolescents view opportunities for making it within the traditional occupational structure as being blocked; then they will seek alternative and expedient channels for attaining success.

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TABLE 1

ZERO - ORDER CORRELATIONS, MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS
FOR EACH MINORITY GROUP STATUS AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Variable		Mean	Standard Deviation	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6
		BLACKS	[n=175]						
X1	Social Background	42.99	14.133		-.183	-.204	0.061	-.290	-.184
X2	Academic Perform.	42.61	19.143			.533	-.185	.547	.581
X3	SOI	0.82	0.122				-.142	.540	.582
X4	POS	7.23	2.028					-.304	-.313
X5	L.E. Expectation	3.69	1.961						.703
X6	L. Occup. Expec.	62.90	21.337						-
		HISPANICS	[n=102]						
X1	Social Background	51.73	13.421		-.124	-.230	.014	-.114	-.192
X2	Academic Perform.	45.27	16.817			.230	-.228	.438	.371
X3	SOI	0.78	0.143				-.227	.480	.404
X4	POS	7.48	1.978					-.105	-.202
X5	L. Ed. Expectation	2.99	1.906						.591
X6	L. Occup. Expec.	57.77	20.000						-
		Females	[n=150]						
X1	Social Background	45.72	15.335		-.193	-.316	0.100	-.351	-.241
X2	Academic Perform.	43.79	18.449			.406	-.156	.450	.492
X3	SOI	0.81	0.133				-.162	.538	.497
X4	POS	7.28	1.960					-.207	-.254
X5	L. of Ed. Expec.	3.44	2.024						.659
X6	L. of Occup. Expec.	62.76	19.934						-
		Males	[n=127]						
X1	Social Background	47.76	13.540		-.056	-.158	.038	-.143	-.177
X2	Academic Perform.	43.48	18.251			574	-.237	.546	.533
X3	SOI	0.80	0.130				-.174	.528	.574
X4	POS	7.12	2.062					-.256	-.316
X5	L. of Ed. Expec.	3.46	1.902						.69
X6	L. of Occup. Expec.	59.23	21.972						-
		Total Sample	[n=277]						
X1	Social Background	46.20	14.479		-.183	-.251	.039	-.266	-.212
X2	Academic Perform.	43.59	18.336			.483	-.200	.489	.499
X3	SOI	0.81	0.132				-.170	.535	.515
X4	POS	7.21	2.006					-.228	-.271
X5	L. of Ed. Expec.	3.43	1.967						.670
X6	L. of Occup. Expec.	61.01	20.999						-

TABLE 2

STANDARDIZED BETA COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR HYPOTHESIZED CAUSAL PATHS FOR EACH MINORITY GROUP STATUS AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Minority Group and Dependent Variables		Independent Variables X4 POS	X3 SOI	X2 AP	X1 SB	Coefficient of Determination R^2
Blacks						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-.20*	.35*	.36*	-.03	.478
X5	Educational Expectation	-.19*	.31*	.33*	-.15*	.454
X4	Percep. of Opp. Structure		-.05	-.15		.036
X3	Significant other Influence			.51*	-.11	.300
X2	Academic Performance				-.18*	.032
Hispanics						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-.09	.25*	.22*	-.09	.221
X5	Educational Expectation	-.04	.37*	.28*	-.01	.297
X4	Percep. of Opp. Structure		-.15	-.16		.074
X3	Significant other Influence			.43*	-.20*	.244
X2	Academic Performance				-.12	.014
Total Sample						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-.15*	.32*	.30*	-.08	.375
X5	Educational Expectation	-.11*	-.35*	.28*	-.14*	.384
X4	Percep. of Opp. Structure		-.10	-.15*		.047
X3	Significant Other Influence			.48*	-.19*	.268
X2	Academic Performance				-.14*	.020

*Significant at $p < .05$

TABLE 3

UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSTION COEFFICIENTS AND CONSTANT
FOR HYPOTHESIZED CAUSAL PATHS FOR EACH
MINORITY GROUP STATUS

Minority Group and Dependent Variables	X4 POS	X3 SOI	X2 AP	X1 SB	Constant
Blacks					
X6 Occupational Expectation	-2.057	63.109	0.385	-.531	11.941
X5 Educational Expectation	-.185	5.333	.333	-.215	.248
X4 Percept. of Opp. Structure		-.982	-.163		8.7298
X3 Significant Other Influence			.3282	-1.949	0.7206
Hispanics					
X6 Occupational Expectation	-.956	35.145	.267	-.148	32.696
X5 Educational Expectation	-.401	4.924	.319	-.215	-2.709
X4 Percept. of Opp. Structure		-2.072	-.189		9.652
X3 Significant other Influence			.364	-.217	0.730

TABLE 4

STANDARDIZED BETA COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENT OF DETERMINATION FOR HYPOTHESIZED CAUSAL PATHS FOR EACH GENDER STATUS AND TOTAL SAMPLE

Gender Status and Dependent Variables		Independent Variables X4 POS	X3 SDI	X2 AP	X1 SB	Coefficient of Determination R^2
Females						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-.144*	.320*	.327*	-.06	.372
X5	Educational Expectation	-.09	.36*	.25*	-.18*	.391
X4	Percept. of Opp. Structure		-.11	-.11		.036
X3	Significant other Influence			.36*	-.25*	.223
X2	Academic Performance				-.19	.036
Males						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-.19*	.32*	.30*	-.12	.412
X5	Educational Expectation	-.13	.30*	.34*	-.08	.387
X4	Percept. of Opp. Structure		-.06	-.20*		.058
X3	Significant other Influence			.57*	-.13	.345
X2	Academic Performance				-.06	.004
Total Sample						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-.15*	.32*	.30*	-.08	.375
X5	Educational Expectation	-.11*	.35*	.28*	-.14*	.384
X4	Percept. of Opp. Structure		-.10	-.15*		.047
X3	Significant other Influence			.48*	-.19*	.268
X2	Academic Performance				-.14*	.020

*Significant at $p < .05$

TABLE 5

UNSTANDARDIZED REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS AND CONSTANT FOR HYPOTHESIZED CAUSAL PATHS FOR EACH GENDER STATUS

Gender Status and Dependent Variables		Independent Variables X4 POS	X3 SOI	X2 AP	X1 SB	Constant
Females						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-1.467	48.008	.354	-.812	22.733
X5	Educational Expectation	-.937	5.529	.279	-.236	.503
X4	Percept. of Opp. Structure		-1.746	-.114		9.193
X3	Significant other Influence			.259	-.214	0.795
Males						
X6	Occupational Expectation	-2.072	53.166	.360	-.191	24.587
X5	Educational Expectation	-.117	4.351	.355	-.115	-0.208
X4	Percept. of Opp. Structure		-.894	-.230		8.841
X3	Significant other Influence			.405	-.122	.684

Figure 1

A MODEL OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MOBILITY
GOALS AMONG MINORITY YOUTHS

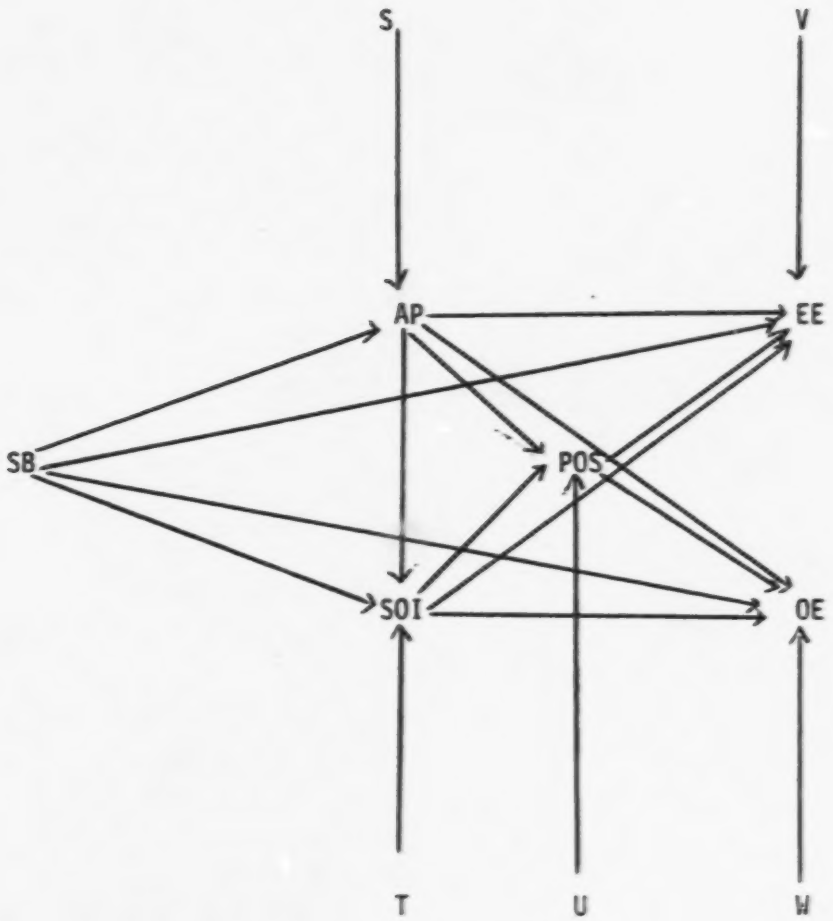

Figure 2

PATH COEFFICIENTS FOR ANTECEDENTS OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR BLACK ADOLESCENTS

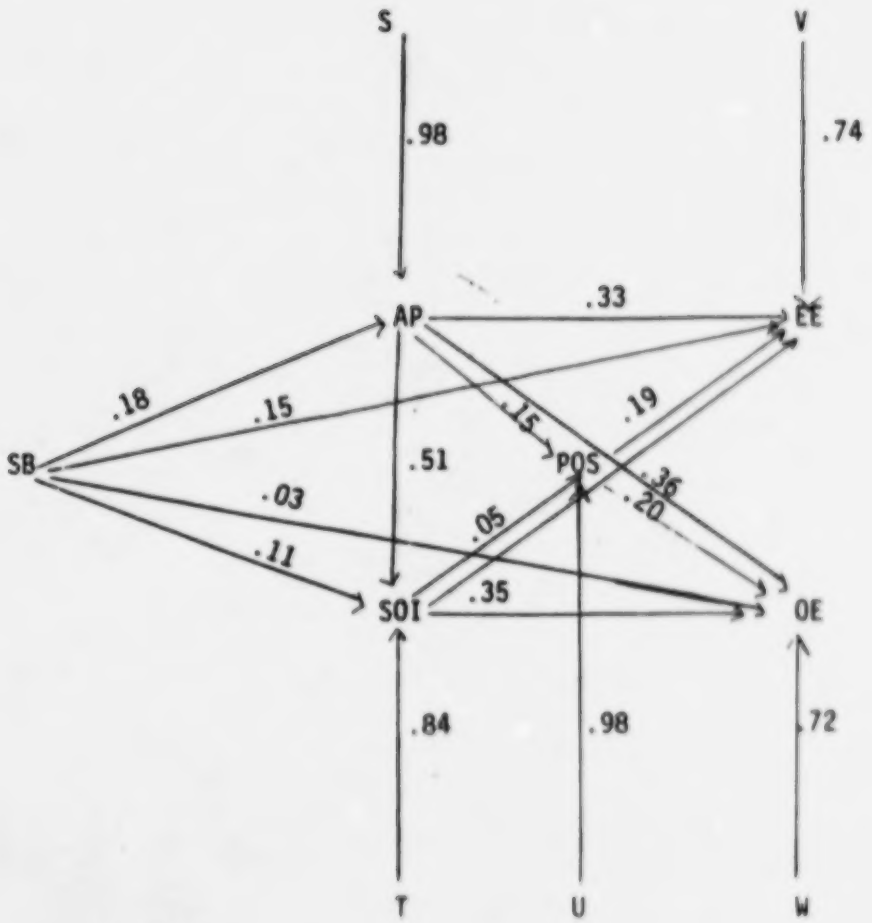

Figure 3

PATHS COEFFICIENTS FOR ANTECEDENTS OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR HISPANIC ADOLESCENTS

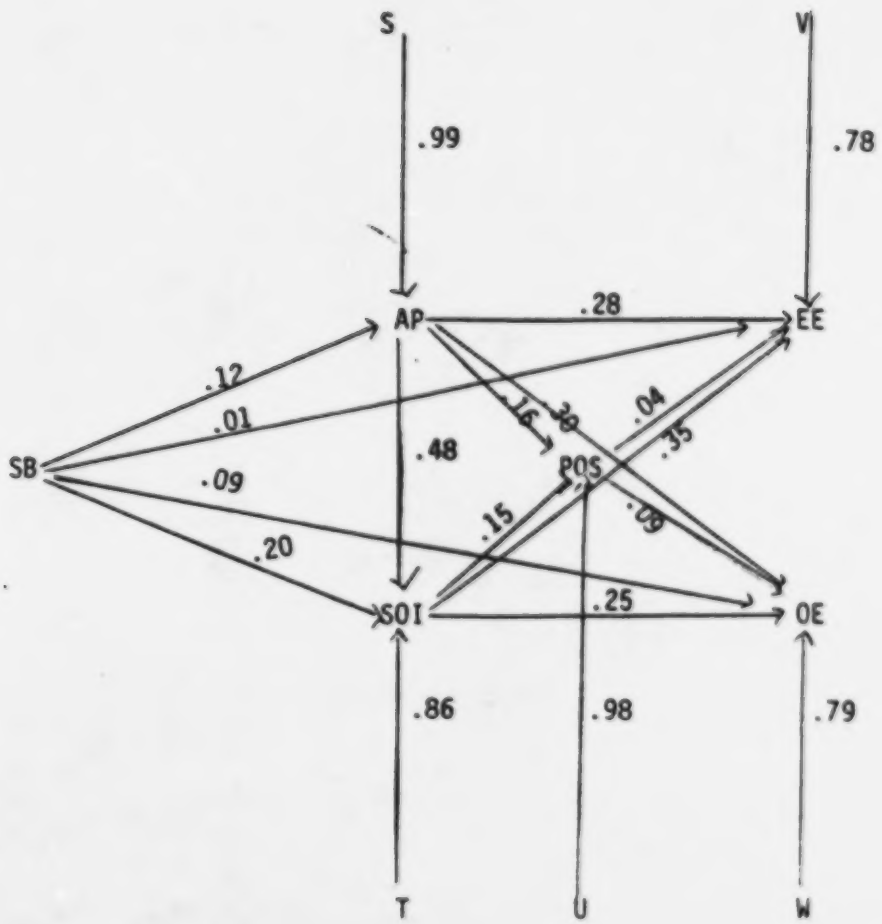

Figure 4

Disaggregated Significant Other Influence Variable -
Endogenous Variable Educational Expectations

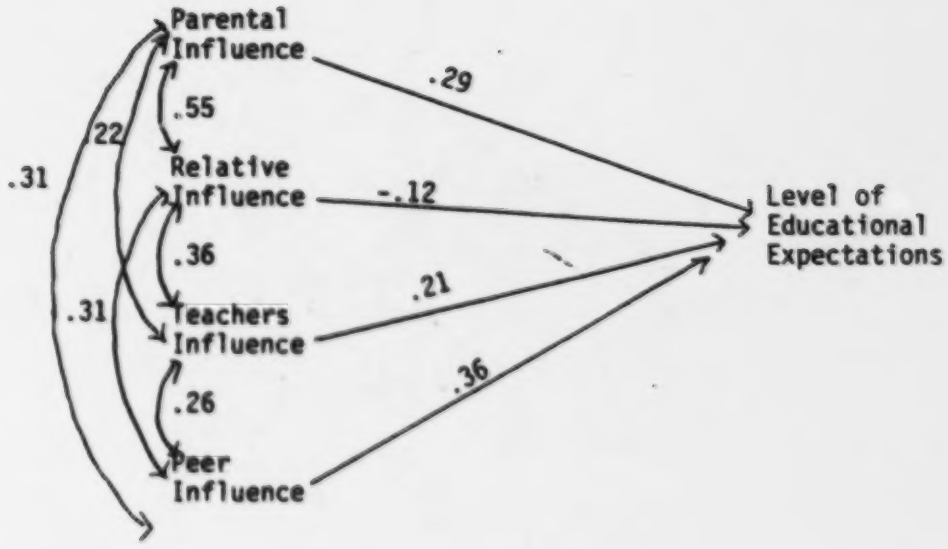

Figure 5

Disaggregated Significant Other Influence Variable -Endogeneous Variable Occupational Expectations